

A
VINDICATION
OF THE
Imprisoned and Secluded
MEMBERS
OF THE
House of Commons, /5

From the ASPERSIONS cast upon them, and
the MAJORITY of the House, in a paper
lately printed and published :

INTITULED,

*An Humble Answer of the Generall
Council of the Officers of the Army under
his Excellency THOMAS Lord FAIRFAX,*

TO THE
*Demands of the Honourable Commons of
ENGLAND in Parliament Assembled :*
Concerning
*The late Securing or Secluding some
MEMBERS thereof.*

PSAL. 37. 5, 6.

Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to
pass. And he shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and
thy judgement as the noon-day.

LONDON, Printed for *Michael Spark* at the blue
Bible in *Green-Arbour.* 1649.



A Vindication of the imprisoned and seclused Members of the House of Commons, from the Aspersions cast upon them and the Majority of the House in a Paper lately printed and published: Intituled, An humble Answer of the Generall Council of the Officers of the Army, &c. to the Demands of the Honourable the Commons of England, &c.



After our being seclused, and some of us imprisoned, and detained from our Service in the House of Commons (of which we are Members) now for above six weeks space; finding a paper published in print against us, wherein we are reproached with the names of *Traitors, Apostates, Self-servers, corrupt Members,* and divers other aspersions of the like nature charged upon us; We are enforced (for our Vindication, and which is dearer to us, the Vindication of the Free-

dom and Honour of the *Parliament*, and for preventing the matters suggested against us in that *Paper* from abusing those by whom we are entrusted, who might judge us guilty, if should be silent) to make this ensuing Answer to that paper.

In the Preamble of this Answer, by way of Accompt, concerning the securing some Members, and secluding others; It appears by the Proposals of the sixth of *December*, the late Declaration and Remonstrance therein cited, That this designe to break the House by force hath been long since plotted and contrived, though not executed untill now. Which Action the General Council of the Army in their Answer say, *We acknowledge it to be a Course in it self irregular, and not justifiable but both by honest intentions for publick good, and an extraordinary Necessity for the same end leading us thereunto.*

These being the two pillars upon which is laid the whole weight of the justification of the Army in this extraordinary and (we beleave) unparallell'd course of proceedings; We shall apply our selves to discover the weaknesse and unsoundness of them both. For our more clear proceedings herein, we shall first state the Case which is endeavoured by this paper to be justified.

They are an *Armie* raised and formed by Ordinance of Parliament of the 15 of *February* 1644, for the defence of the *King* and *Parliament*, and true *Protestant Religion*, the *Laws* and *Liberties* of the *Kingdom*; and to be from time to time *subject* to such *Orders* and *Directions* as they shall receive from *both Houses of Parliament*. And for that end they stand commissioned by them, and receive pay from them at this day. And besides the Trust they hereby have assumed, they are under the obligation of a solemn Covenant sworn to Almighty God, *That they will in their places and callings, with sincerity, reality and constancy, with their estates and lives, preserve the Rights and Priviledges, of the Parliament, and the Liberties of the Kingdome; and defend the Kings person and Authority in the defence of the*

true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom. They being under these Trusts and Obligations by and to the Houses, with their Arms, contrary to their Orders, marched into *Westminster*, and without any order from them, they placed some of their Regiments at and about the door of the House of Commons upon the sixth and seventh of *December* last, and there (with a List of the names of divers Members of the House) their Officers and Souldiers (appointed for that purpose) forcibly secluded some, seized upon, imprisoned, and detained others from their attendance of the House, and occasioned many others to absent themselves. The Question now is, Whether any thing in this paper can justify this Action of theirs, either upon the good Intentions or Necessity pretended therein. This being the point in Issue, which they affirm, and we deny: We shall now proceed to consider their grounds.

For their good Intentions, which cannot be known to us but by their expressions and actions, they referre us to their Proposals, Declarations and Remonstrances: where wee finde their desires are to take away the Kings life, to take away the lives of the Prince and the Duke of *York*; at least, to dis-inherit both them and all the Kings children; to put a period to this Parliament; to set up a new Representative, which takes away all Parliaments; to have an elective King, if any. These are the intentions for publick good, which must come in to help their actions, that are confessed to be otherwise irregular and unjustifiable. We think the very naming of them doth manifest, that they are apparantly against the Laws of God, and the Laws of the Kingdom under which they live, and have no justification for themselves, much lesse any to spare for their actions; whereof we leave the whole Kingdome (for whose good, as said, these Intentions are) to be judges. And we shall produce no other witness to prove this, but themselves. On the 15 of *November*, 1647, the paper called *The Agreement of the people*, which is somewhat lower then these which they call Intentions for publick good, was condemned by the Army; the pro-

promoting of it judged capitall, Colonel Rainborough and Major Scot complained of by them to the House for appearing in it, and the paper it self then adjudged by the House destructive to Government, and the being of Parliament. And upon this their evidence against themselves we leave this point:

And to proceed to the other ground of their justification, *viz.* Extraordinary Necessity, which is laid down in their paper thus: After they have brought in their *good intentions* for their justification, (and what those are, we have cited out of their own papers, to which they refer us,) it is then added, *And an extraordinary Necessity for the same end leading us therewnto.* It appears in the first opening of this necessity, of what nature it is, that tends to such ends as they referre it. But for the better disquisition thereof, before we come to the particulars to set forth this necessity in this paper, we shall lay down some generall Observations and Conclusions concerning this their Plea.

1. The Army made the very same plea of extraordinary necessity in their Remonstrance June 23. 1647, that now is made in this paper, upon quite contrary grounds then what they expresse now; and both to justify the same extraordinary violent proceedings against the Parliament: differing onely in degrees, this later worse then the former. Then when the King was seized upon by a party of the Army, without Order from the House, and the Army advanced against the Parliament, they say in their Letter to the House July the 8, 1647, *There have been severall Officers of the Army, upon severall occasions sent to his Majestie: The first, to present to him a Copy of the Representations; and after that, some others to tender him a Copie of the Remonstrance: upon both which the Officers sent were appointed to clear the sense and intentions of any thing in either paper whereupon his Majestie might make any question.* There they treated with the King, and now they offer violence to the Parliament for treating with the King. Then in their Remonstrance July 23. 1647, it is said, *We clearly professe, we do not see how this can be any point*

in this Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due consideration of, and provision for the Rights, quiet and Immunities of his Majesty's Royall Family, and his late partakers. Now they judge the Majority of the House corrupt, and proceed violently against them for moving one step towards a peace with the King, though he hath granted more then all their Proposals, and make this a necessity sharp enough to justify the using of their swords contrary to their Commissions. This were cause enough to make the unsoundness of this plea of necessity appear to all the world, and even to be suspected by themselves, that serves to justify contradictions which they are put to, by making themselves Judges of those things they have no calling to meddle with; and taking them out of those hands to whom of right it belongs to judge them.

2. This plea of necessity which is made in this paper, is destructive to all Government. For by the same reason that the General Officer urgeth necessity for acting against the command and persons of his Superiours; and makes himself Judge of that necessity; the inferiour Officer may urge the same necessity in his judgement to act against the commands of his Generall; and the Souldiers may urge the same for acting against their Officers; and any other 20000 Men in the Kingdom to act against the Army; and this Army to act (as against this Parliament, so) against any other Government or Representative that shall be set up; and so in infinitum.

3. Did the Members of Parliament proceed in Parliament contrary to their trust in the judgement of those that did elect them: yet it is manifest, that the power of advising, voting and acting being placed in the Members of Parliament by the Law of the Land, and ancient Rights of Parliament, they are not accountable much lesse censurable for the use of it according to their own judgement and consciences, though contrary to theirs that chose them. They are only in such cases accountable to, and censurable by the House; which they could not reasonably be, if they were censurable by the people that sent them. For then the Parliament might judge that

that good service, which the Electors judge evill : & *con-*
verso, the Electors may judge that evill which the House may
 judge to be good ; and so no man can be safe or free in the
 service of the Parliament. But were power and trust placed
 in the Members of Parliament by Law, only to be used or not
 used, valid or null, at the Electors judgment ; yet in such case
 the Members of Parliament were only accountable to the
 Counties, Cities or Boroughs for which they serve ; and not to
 Strangers : and in no case are they accountable to the Army ;
 who are so far from being those from whom they received
 their Trust, that they are only persons in a subordinate Trust
 under them, for their defence from force. Which how well
 they have performed, we leave to the judgment of all those
 who observe their present proceedings.

4. These actions, which they undertake to justifie, are
 contrary not onely to their trust, but to the expresse letter of
 the Covenant and Protestation which they have taken. And
 breach of Oath being a morall evill, it is not to be justified
 by necessity and good intentions. *Saul*, though a King and
 thereby qualified to do justice ; yet for executing the *Gibe-*
nites against a Covenant made many hundred yeers before
 and gained subtilly by the *Gibeonites*, who were not of the
 children of Israel, but of the remnant of the *Amorites* (with
 whom he might presume to be more bold ;) and though he did
 this in his zeal to the children of Israel and Judah ; yet this
 necessity in his judgment, for publick good, could not warrant
 him ; God brought a Famine upon the Land for this breach
 of Covenant, which ceased not untill it was expiated by the
 death of seven of his sons that did commit it. See here by
 this instance what legacy they by their present actions may
 leave to their posterity.

Having thus laid down these considerations of this part
 of Necessity in generall, it thereby appears, should we be
 no more, though we should be guilty of the ensuing par-
 ticulars with which we are charged, yet they could not
 be innocent, nor justified in what they have done
 against us.

But for our further clearing, and their further conviction, we come now to enquire into those particulars in this *Paper*, in which they hold forth the necessity that must bear them out; wherein the question betwixt us, admitting necessity, would justifie their proceedings is thus; Whether that which is assigned in the particulars following in their *Paper*, be that necessity wherein we shall joyn Issue with them, and freely put it to tryall upon the particulars following, which are six in number. But before we enter upon them, we must take notice of what is said from the end of the second page of their *Paper*, unto the end of the fift page, wherein are used many words to shew how the Majority of the House came to be formed to serve the Kings, and other corrupt Interests. The sum of all which is, *That by the endeavours of some whom they call old Malignant Members, and by the practices used in the new Elections, there came in a flood of new Burgesses, that either are Malignants or Neuters. To which we answer, That what is done by the majority of the House, it is the act of the whole House; so what is done against the majority of the House is done against the whole House: And to the Charge against the new Burgesses, as it is cleer, the Ordinance for new Elections was not carried by those we call old Malignants, (if there be any such in the House) except the major part of the House was alwayes Malignants, and before the new Election so, for the Members which came in upon the new Election, which are called Neuters or Malignants in generall, without fixing upon any one particular Member, to which all in generall were sufficient: Yet we shall further adde, that of all those Members of the new Election, that are secluded or imprisoned, we know none but whose Elections are allowed by the House, and who are proper Judges thereof; and who either by their services as Souldiers for the Parliament, or in their Committees, or otherwise by imminent services or sufferings in their Cause, gave a testimony of their faithfulness to the Parliament before they were elected, which may free them from the name of Neuters and Malignants.*

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And

And it were not hard to shew that many Officers of the Army who came in upon the last Elections, are chosen by those places where they were scarce known, and wherein they have no interest of their own ; and by what other influence they obtained those Elections, we leave it to themselves to judge, to whom it is best known ; and so come to the first of those six particulars, wherein is assigned the extraordinary necessity to justify their proceedings in their own words.

First, *The betraying of IRELAND into the enemies hands by recalling the Lord Lisle from his command there, and putting the best part of that Kingdom, and where the Parliament had the strongest footing, (Munster) into the hands of Inchequin a native Irish man, who hath since revolted from the Parliament, hath lately united with the Irish Rebels, and with them and Ormond again, engaged with the King. To which we answer ;*

That if *Munster* be that part of *Ireland* wherein the Parliament had the best interest, the Lord *Inchequin* did come in himself, and bring that interest to the Parliament, whom he served against the Irish Rebels, and preserved a possession in *Munster* for the Parliament, during the heat of their Wars in *England*, when they had little other interest in *Ireland*, and less means to relieve them out of *England*. That the Lord *Lisle* was not recalled from his command there, but his Commission for Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* expiring about the fifteenth of April 1647. his Lordship on the seventeenth of April took shipping for *England*. After the Lord *Lisles* departure out of *Munster*, the Lord *Inchequin* proceeded successively against the Rebels, and took from them many considerable Forts and Castles ; the Garrison of *Oramanagh*, *Cappoquin*, the Town and Castle of *Donagavan*, the Castle of *Cahir*, and others : And upon the fourteenth of November following, at the battell of *Rockdown* he obtained one of the greatest Victories that ever was gotten over the Rebels Army, under the command of the Lord *Tass*, wherein were taken of the enemies Horse two hundred, slain of the

Foot four thousand, Officers taken prisoners sixty eight, Arms six thousand, the Lieutenant generall slain: For all which, we refer the Reader to the Letters and Papers concerning these severall services presented to the House, and by their Orders published in print.

These were such testimonies of his reality to the Parliament long after the Lord *Lisles* coming out of *Munster*; that the House did not call it into question, and nothing to the contrary appeared to the Houses untill the third of *April* 1648. The Army here having disputed the Parliaments Commands, the Lord *Inchequin* began to enter into Remonstrances and engagements against the Parliament, for which he made the Remonstrances, Engagements and Declarations of the Army the Summer before, both the Cause and President; as by the Relation made to the House, published in print, doth appear. We mention not these things in the least measure to justify the Lord *Inchequins* revolt from the Parliament, but have onely related the truth of the matter of fact, for our own justification against the Charge in this Paper, of betraying *Munster*; and we leave to the Reader to judge, whether the Army hath cause to complain of us, or reflect upon themselves for the losse of *Munster*: and proceed to the second particular, *viz.*

Their endeavours to bring in the King upon his own Terms, without satisfaction and security to the Kingdom, *viz.* upon his Message of the twelfth of May 1647. and to this end, with so manifest injustice and indignity, to disband the Army, before any Peace made or assured.

For the engagement of the twelfth of May, it is well known the House of Commons upon the first knowledge of that engagement voted it to be treasonable, and afterwards both Houses by Ordinance of the seventeenth of December 1647. put an incapacity upon all those in or about the City of

London, that entred into; or contrived, acted or abetted that engagement, of bearing any Office in the City of *London* for that yeer; which we take to be a sufficient Evidence to prove us herein a right majority, as in other parts of their Paper, they take the Votes of the House to prove us a corrupt majority: The Charge here lying onely in generall, and not fixed upon any particular. Yet for our further clearing, besides the Testimony we have given against the bringing in the King upon any such terms, by our continued insisting upon far higher terms, to which the King hath agreed in the late Treaty; we doe every one of us for our selves respectively, professe our utter dislike of that engagement, or any endeavour to bring in the King upon any engagement made or contrived without the House.

And for what is said concerning disbanding of the Army, we say, that the Votes of the House, that eight Regiments of Foot, four of Horse, and one of Dragoons should be sent out of the Army to *Ireland*, which was desired might be in one entire Body, and their resolution to contain ten thousand Foot, and five thousand four hundred Horse, under the command of the Lord *Fairfax*, for the necessary defence of the Kingdom, (as the State of affairs then stood in *England* and *Ireland*) as it was to no such end, as is alledged, but for the relieving of poor distressed Protestants in *Ireland*, the easing of the heavy pressures lying upon the poor people of this Kingdom, and an honourable and fit imploying the Forces of that Army to prevent the high Distempers that since have ensued, so as it was no injustice nor indignity to the Armie.

To the third Article, viz. That they endeavoured to protect the eleven impeached Members from justice, and endeavouring with them to raise a new War.

We say, that as we desire no other protection then our own innocency, and the Laws under which we live, so we never gave any other protection to the eleven Members, then what stood with Law and Justice.

And for the mispending of two hundred thousand pounds, or the greater part thereof, which was designed chiefly for Ireland: We say, that about eighty thousand pound of that money was paid to Master Nicholas Loftus and others for the service of Ireland and above fifty thousand pound to the Treasurers at War, for the Army; which might with more reason be said to be misemployed, in regard there is an establishment for their pay another way, unless part of the Army had gone to do Ireland service for that money: then what the Reformado Officers and Souldiers, who obeyed the Orders of the House for disbanding, who received, pressed the more earnestly upon the House for part of their Arrears, after their Declarations and Remonstrances by the Army, for satisfying the Arrears of all the Souldiers in the Kingdom were published.

For the fourth Article, *their countenancing, abetting, and partaking with the tumultuous violence of the Apprentices and others against both Houses of Parliament.* It seems strange to us, when they had this in their thoughts to charge it as a Crime upon us, they did not think of what themselves are doing, and much more that they should urge the force offered to the House then (which they declared *horrid and treasonable*;) to justify the violence offered to the House by them, of a far higher nature. If it were a crime in the Apprentices, why do the Army the same thing? If it were no Crime, why do they complain of Us for abetting and partaking with it? wherefore, We say, that there is not the least colour or shadow of truth; and does every one of Us for Our selves respectively utterly deny it.

And for setting up a new *Speaker*, the House of Commons did no more then what in all ages hath been their undoubted right to do in the case of want of a *Speaker*. And as to the Ordinances and Votes then passed, We should make a particular Answer thereunto, but that by the Ordinance of the 20. of Aug. following, they are made void and null in them selves, which silences Us for the present.

For the fifth Article, *The holding correspondency, ingaging and assisting the tumultuous Petitioners last Spring, the rebellious Insurrections in Kent, the revolted Ships, and Prince of Wales, and with the Scots Armie. We do every one of Us for our selves respectively denie the having any hand therein.*

Having thus given Our Answers to those Five particulars wherein the necessity is assigned, by which they endeavour to justify their proceedings against Us; We leave it to the Judgment of their owne Consciences, whether they do not bear witness within them, that in all these particulars they have groundlessly accused Us of those things of which they for the most part are guilty, and know Us to be innocent. In these we have used the more brevity, that We might be the more large upon the sixth Section of the Paper; wherein they say, *That when the Army was dispersed and engaged in severall parts of the Kingdome in opposing the Enemies, suppressing the troubles these men had raised; and when many faithfull Members of Parliament were employed abroad upon necessary publique services, and others, through malignant tumults about the Citie, could not with safetie attend the House, then the corrupt and apostatizing party taking advantage of these distractions and diversions, which themselves had caused; first recalled in those Members, &c. then they recalled those Votes for non-addresses, and Voted a Personall Treatie with the King. To all which scandalous aspersions Wee Answer:*

That they are altogether groundlesse; if there were any reality in what they would here insinuate, That the proceedings of this Treaty were not by the Concurrence of the House, but surreptitiously gayned, by taking advantage of the absence of many faithfull Members; Why doe they complaine then in other parts of their Paper, *That the Majoritie of the House is corrupt? and take paines to shew, how the Majoritie of the House came to be formed to serve the King and other corrupt Interests, or what necessitie was there for them to force the absence of two hundred Members of the House*

things for what is done in this Treatie, if the complaints here be just, that the proceedings thereunto were through the absence of the Members that could not with safety attend the House, and for the distractions in the Countries, which they speake of. It is manifest to all men, that heard the cries of the Countries at that time, who in part occasioned those distempers, even in the Countries nearest and best affected to the Parliament, who never, during the Warre, expressed so high contempt to the authority of Parliament, untill the like had bin first done by the Armies quartering upon and amongst them a little before. And although the president was followed by Sea and Land, almost to the ruine of Parliament and Kingdom, yet those Members (if they meane such as are imprisoned and sequestred) which they most uncivilly and unchristianly requite with the reproach of Apostates, were many of them employed and did improve the utmost of their Interests in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Herefordshire, Hampshire, Suffolke, Essex, London, and Surrey, and many other parts of the Kingdome, to quiet distractions and oppose Insurrections, which the extremity of the Armes proceedings had in part occasioned. We never judged Tumults, nor Insurrections the way to Peace, and Settlement. And for the Charge of some of the eleven Members, to have taken Commissions from the Prince, Wales, and every of them for themselves affirming the Charge of their taking Commissions from the Prince, or any other whatsoever, by vertue of his Authority, is a most malicious and scandalous aspersions. They abhorring to deviate in the least from what their primitive engagements were; which they have from first to last continued in, and shall doe (by Gods assistance) notwithstanding all Calumnies cast on them, or sufferings (though to the utmost) for so doing.

Having thus cleared the entrance to the Treatie from these prejudices laid in the way thereunto, We come to that

Vote of the House Decemb. 5. That the Answer of the King to the Propositions of both Houses are a ground for the House to proceed on for the settlement of the Peace of the Kingdome. Of which they say, that though they advanced hither to attend Providence for the opening some way to avoid the present evils designed, and introduce the desired good into the Kingdome; yea they said nor acted nothing in relation to the Parliament nor any Member thereof, untill by that Vote passed Decemb. 5. they found the corrupt majority so resolvedly bent to compleat their Design in bringing in the King, &c. Doe they call their threatening Remonstrance sent to the House, and the Declaration then published to explaine the meaning thereof divers dayes before this, a saying nothing in relation to the Parliament? and their Marching up to the Citie of London and Westminster with so many Regiments of the Army, contrary to the Order of the House, a doing nothing in relation to the Parliament. By this it seemes the passing of this Vote is the very point of that necessity, which they take to justifie all their present actions, in relation to the Parliament. For before that passed, they say they acted nothing; therefore We shall be more large upon this Subject.

We shall therefore first state the matter in difference betwixt the Propositions of the Houses and the Kings Answers. As the Propositions to the King in the Isle of Wight contained in them all that security which the Houses have judged necessary to propose for themselves, those that have adhered to them in the Warres, and for the peace of the whole Kingdome; so the King granteth all those Propositions in which the main security resteth, viz.

His Majestie granted the first Proposition for taking off Declarations, &c. as was desired.

His Majestie granted the third Proposition concerning the Militia as was desired.

His Majestie consented to the Proposition of Ireland limiting the time of the Parliam. disposing Offices to 30. years.

His Majesty consented to such Acts for Publike Debt and Publike uses as should be presented within two yeeres, and incurred within the time.

His

His Majesty granted as it was desired to the Proposition concerning Peers.

His Majesty granted the disposing of Offices in *England* to the Parliament, so that the time limited exceed not twenty yeares.

His Majesty granted the taking away the Court of Wards, having 100000*l.* *per annum* allowed in leiw thereof, to bee raised as the Parliament shall think fit.

His Majesty granted to declare against the Earle of *Ormonds* power and proceedings after an agreement with his Houses.

The onely difference remaineth upon two Propositions: that concerning Delinquents, and that concerning the Church.

For the first of these, wee shall here set down that part of the Kings finall answer, wherein the difference lieth.

And his Majesty doth consent, *that the severall persons comprised in the said Propositions shall submit to moderate Compositions according to such rates and proportions as they and the two Houses shall agree upon. The particulars whereof, his Majesty leaves wholly to such agreement, desiring only that the rates and value may be mitigated and reduced to a more moderate proportion; and his Majesty will give way that the persons insisted upon by his two Houses, shall be removed from his Councell, and be restrained from coming within the verge of the King, Queenes, and Princes Court; and that they may not beare any office or have any employment in the State or Common-wealth, without advice and consent of both his Houses of Parliament. But his Majesty cannot agree that those who do the contray shall incurre such severe penalties, as to be guilty of high Treason, and forfeit their lives and estates without any capacity of pardon, as in the said Proposition is contained there being a penalty legally implied upon the breach of any Act of Parliament, which his Majesty intends not to dispencc withall. As to the seven persons mentioned in the said Petes to bee excepted, his Majesty for the peace of the Kingdom will consent that they may absent themselves out of the Kingdom for such time as the two Houses shall think fit, desiring nevertheless that they may be admitted to Composition for their Estates; and if any of them shall be proceeded against according to the ancient and established Law of the Kingdom, his Majesty will not interpose*

to hinder any legall proceedings thereupon; but that his Majesty should joine in any Act for the taking away of the life or Estates of any that have adhered to him, his Majesty cannot with Justice and Honour agree thereunto.

As to all other persons mentioned in the Propositions, his Majesty will further consent, that they shall not sit or vote as Members or assistants in either House of Parliament, nor continue nor bee of his Majesties privy Councell, Officers of State, or Iudges, or in other Offices without consent of both Houses.

As for all Clergy men against whom any scandalous life can be proved, or other legall Charges, his Majesty will remit them to the Law. But for all others who shall conforme to what his Majesty and his two Houses shall agree upon, his Majesty conceives fit where their livings are void they may be restored to them, and where any other is incumbent in any of their preferments, that the party now outed of his living may receive a third part of the profits, unless he be otherwise provided, that thus the one may not want a livelihood, nor the other be outed of any living, untill some fitting preferment be found for either.

In this answer, though the King doth not fully grant what the Houses desire, yet he consents to joine with the Houses in making them incapable of bearing any Office of publique trust without the consent of the Houses.

And for these, whom the Houses propose to compound with the King leaves them to such Compositions as they and the Houses shall agree on, which is the condition they are now in; the Houses forcing composition upon none but by sequestration of their estates, which continues untill they compound. And for these whom the Houses proposed to proceed against capitally, the King leaves them to a legall tryall, with a Declaration, that he will not interpose to hinder it; which satisfied, the maine grievance of the Parliament (as we conceive) declared in the beginning of their War concerning Delinquents, which was not for that the King refused to joine himself with the Houses punishing of Delinquents, but for that the King by force of Armes protected Delinquents from justice; and all that the House did desire in the Proposition concerning

Delinquents

Delinquents presented to the King at Oxford, February 1642. was that your Majesty leave Delinquents to a legall tryall and judgement of Parliament. And wee see not what evasion from Iustice is left to such as have made War against the Parliament and Law of the land, when the King first by a Law declares the Parliaments war to be just, and afterwards leaves these that had fought against them to the judgement of the Lawes.

The second Proposition wherein the onely materiall difference resteth, is that of the Church, which standeth thus, viz. *The Houses proposed that a Bill be passed for the utter abolishing of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, &c. and for sale of Bishops Lands, That Reformation of Religion bee settled by Act of Parliament in such manner as both Houses have agreed or shall agree upon: To which the King answers,*

That it is his judgement and conscience, that he cannot (as he stands yet informed) abolish Episcopacy out of the Church, yet because he apprehends how fatall new distractions may be to this Kingdom, and that he beleeves his two Houses will yeeld to trust if that shall be manifested to them, if convinced, his Majesty doth again desire that there be a Consultation of Divines as he hath formerly proposed, and his Majesty will suspend the Episcopal power as well in point of Ordination of Ministers, as in that of Iurisdiction, untill he and his two Houses agree what Government shall be establisht in the future.

As for the Bishops Lands, though hee cannot consent to the absolute alienation of them from the Church, yet he will agree that the propriety and inheritance shall by Act of Parliament be settled in the Crown to be declared in trust for the use of the Church-men, to be employed by his Majesty, his heires and successours with advice of his two Houses for the use aforesaid, and that Leases shall be made for lives or years (not exceeding 99 years) for the satisfaction of the Purchasers and Contractors according to his former answers, or reserving the old rents or other moderate rents for the maintenance of them to whom they did formerly belong, and for the future benefit of the Church: And in all things else, his Majesty refers himselfe to his former answers.

swers. And in his former answers dated October 27. 1648, He consents to the taking away all Arch-bishops, Chancellours, Commissaries, Deans and Sub-deans, and Chapters, Arch-deacons, Cannons, and Prebendaries, and all Chanters, Chancellours, Tutors, Saccentours, Sacristis, old Vicars, new Vicars of any Cathedrall Church, and all other their under officers, out of the Church of England, Domiaion of Wales, and Church of Ireland,

In these answers (as wee conceive) the King takes away the government of the Church by Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c. by his taking away their Courts; the Bishops having no authority to convent any person, send for any witnesse, heare any cause, passe any censure or judgement, or exercise any Acts of Church Government, but by and in their Courts, which being by this answer abolisht, the Government falls. And for their power of Ordination, though it bee not absolutely taken away, yet the exercise of it is suspended, so as it is equivalent, for the Bishops can never exercise that power againe in *England*, untill they be restored hereunto by Act of Parliament: And if that power had been absoluteiy taken away, yet if the King and both Houses of Parliament restore it, it is againe established: So that the maine defect in this answer is, in that the King agrees to settle the Presbyterian Government onely for three yeares, and that at the end of that time there is no Government in the Church, untill it bee settled by Act of Parliament. Wee professe herein that the Kings Answer comes farre short of what we desired, and of what we shall use our best endeavours fully to effect according to former engagements; there being nothing wherein wee should more rejoyce, then to see as the power and purity of Doctrine, so the beauty of Order and golden Reynes of Discipline strengthened and established by a perpetuall Law amongst us. Yet the King consents to the settling of this Government in this Answer for so long a time as the Houses formerly in their Ordinances presented to him at *New-castle*, did themselves think fit to settle it.

This being the true state of the difference betwixt the Kings Answer and the Propositions of the Houses for a safe and well grounded Peace (which were the subject of the Houses debate, *Decemb.* the 5th.) We shall in the next place, before We come to those Reasons, which induced Us thereupon to Vote that, &c. We shall premise First, by this Vote the House did not determine

(as We conceive) the having no further Treaty with his Majesty before a concluding and declaring of Peace, nor was the House so bound up hereby, that they could not propose any thing further, wherein the Kings Answers are defective, or from making any new Propositions for the better healing our breaches, or more safe binding up a just and righteous Peace, which as it doth appeare by the Words of the Vote it selfe; so it is also manifest to bee the full purpose and sense of the House therein, by their laying aside the former Vote (*that the Kings Answers are satisfactory*) by a *Question upon a long debate*. And at the same time framing and passing this Vote, whereby they only lay hold of these large Concessions, and declare their judgements thereupon against a breach with the King, and continuance of this unnaturall Warre betwixt the King and his people, upon the difference at last by the blessing of God brought into so narrow a compasse. And this being a true state of the matter then in debate, and Our sense in the Vote that passed thereupon, Wee judged it most consistent with Our duties as Christians, and our Trust as Members of Parliament, to make this step (having so much ground given Us) towards the happy settlement of thi Kingdom in Peace.

This being publisht in Print to be so high a crime in Us, as to justifie whatsoever the Army hath done against Vs, and God and Man being appealed unto therein. We shall here lay down some of the Considerations both on the one hand and on the other, which carryed our Iudgements to the passing this Vote.

1. The advantages by this proceeding towards a close with the King upon what hee hath granted, are the saving of the Kingdome of *Ireland* out of the hands of the bloody *Popish Rebels*, and preserving it to the Crown of *England*; the regaining the revolted *Navia*, and freedome of the Seas; the support of the Ancient and well constituted Government of this Kingdome, the honour of Parliament in making Peace after so troublesome a Warre; and in a word, the stopping the most sad issue of *English* blood that ever was opened in this Nation; and the putting of the people of this Kingdome into possession of greater security of their Lawes and Liberties against the over growing power of the Kings Pr-

rogative,

rogative; then ever any of Our Ancestors in the greatest of their successes could ever attaine unto.

The consequences visible in our eyes, if we should upon the matter in difference have made a breach with the King are:

1. The deposing, if not the taking away the life of the King; what miseries upon either of these have formerly ensued to this Kingdome our own Histories tell Us. Although for the latter (which Wee unwillingly mention) there was never any president for it in this Kingdome, nor ever made by any Protestants in the World; and We desire it may never be done by any in this Kingdome, being that, which from our hearts We doe detest and abhorre. We cannot but remember in the end of our Warre the day wherein God hath given Vs prosperity, the Declarations which We made in the beginning of Our Warre, and the obligations which We laid upon our selves and the Kingdome when we were low.

In the Petition of Lords and Commons presented to his Majesty by the Earl of Stamford &c. April the 8th 1642. are these words, viz.

That you will please to reject all Counsels and apprehensions which may any way derogate from that faithfulness and Allegiance which in truth and sincerity We have alwayes borne and professed to your Majesty, and shall ever make good to the uttermost with our Lives and Fortunes.

Page 143. In a Declaration and Protestation of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, setting forth the Cause and ends of their taking up Armes, to this Kingdome and to the whole World; Octob. 22. 1642. are these words, viz.

Page 663. *We the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, doe in the presence of Almighty God for the satisfaction of our consciences and the discharge of that great Trust which lies upon Vs, make this Protestation and Declaration to this Kingdome and Nation, and to the whole World, That no private passion or respect, no evil intention to his Majesties Person, no designs to the prejudice of his just honour and Authority, engaged Vs to raise Forces, and take up Armes against the Authors of this Warre, wherewith the Kingdome is now inflamed; and We have alwayes desired from our hearts and souls, manifested in our actions and proceedings, and severall humble Petitions and Res-*
monstrances

monstrances to his Majesty, professed our loyalty and obedience to his Crown, redinesse and resolution to defend his Person, and support his Estate with our Lives and Fortunes to the uttermost of Our Power, &c.

A Declaration of the Lords and Commons, in Answer, &c. Concerning the Allegations that the Army raised by the Parliament is to murder and depose the King, We hope the Contrivers of the Declaration or any that professeth but the name of a Christian could not have so little charity as to raise such a scandall, especially when they must needs know the Protestation taken by every Member of both Houses, whereby they promise in the presence of Almighty God to defend his Majesties Person, the Protestations made by the Members of both Houses upon the nomination of the Earle of Essex to be Generall, and to live and die with him, is exprest that this Army was raised for the defence of the Kings Person.

In the Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation and defence of Religion, and honour and happinesse of the King; Thus

Having before our eyes the honour and happinesse of the Kings Majesties Person and his Posterity, We shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our severall places and callings, to preserve and defend the Kings Majesties Person and Authority, in the preservation and defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdom, that the World may beare Witnesse with our Consciences that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesties just power and greatness, &c.

And it appeared not unto V. to be consistent with the publike Faith of the Houses in those Declarations, nor with other obligations which We have laid upon our selves by these Oathes, Covenants, & Protestations; to hazard the deposing of the King from his Crown & dignity, much lesse the losse of his Life upon the making of a breach upon the matter in difference.

2. We could not but foresee the apparent losse of the Kingdom of Ireland and extirpation of English Protestants, and of the Protestant Religion out of that Kingdom into the hands and power of Papists in Arms there. We cannot but believe our tendernesse to make a breach of proceeding out of hearts desire to relieve and preserve the remnant of those poor Protestants,

testants, which otherwise are like to be a prey to the Popish Rebels; who are not satisfied with the lives of many thousands of Innocents; whom they have already murdered, will justify Vs before God and Men for what We have done in endeavouring to lay hold upon the grounds given Vs towards the settlement of Peace.

3. We could not but apprehend with fear, the great advantage to the Popish and Forraign Interests, and the disadvantage to the Protestant Cause in this Kingdom and throughout the World, by a breach. The Prince and Duke of York, the two next Heirs to the Crown and Government of three Kingdoms, both in Forraign parts and under the Queens direction. If the Warre be still continued by the Parliament upon the matter in difference, it may be feared the Prince may marry with the daughter of a Popish King, & strengthen himself both at Land and Sea by Forraign alliance (to which the right of his Inheritance to three Kingdoms, is a faire invitation) unto which the Popish Interest in *Ireland* prevailing, giving such an advantage, together with the assistance of the Papists in this Kingdom; what can be expected for Vs but to be certainly the the Seat of Warre, and in great danger to be brought under a Popish yoke? which We beseech Almighty God to keep us from.

4: It is obvious that a breach made at this time upon the grounds afore-mentioned, as it will divide Vs amongst our selves, hazard the losse of *Ireland*; so it is like to lay a foundation of a perpetuall breach betwixt these two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*. If there should bee any thought of change of Government here, how contrary are their declared Principles both of their State and Church thereunto? The King of *England* is King of *Scotland*, and they are under Allegiance and Covenants for the preservation of the Kings Person and his Posterity as well as We: What differences are like to ensue betwixt the Kingdomes, by Government against Government, perhaps Title against Title, and one Kingdom against the other? And this Kingdom being the more wealthy, most probable to bee the Seat wherein all the Tragick Scenes and contentions betwixt both Kingdoms shall be acted; & what have We in reason or conscience before God or Man to beare us out against these many and Eminent hazards?

Wee had consideration of the vast debts which the Kingdome lies under, and for which the Publique Faith stands engaged. Of which wee see no hope of payment, but by a settlement. What vast summes of money are owing to this Army, and to all the Souldiers in the Kingdome? What multitude of extream sufferers in this City; and in every County of the Kingdome, by what they have lent to, and lost for the Parliament? Who by the continuance of the Warre are onely like to bee paid with more sufferings and exactions, upon what is yet left them: and every yeers Warre is like to make new Malignants through discontenting pressures; destroy more families; increase the Publique debt to be paid; and withall increase the Kingdomes wants, and make it the lesse able to pay, untill at last the Souldier seeing no hope of Pay, the People no hope of Peace, but generall and desperate tumultuousnesse, fall amongst both, by laying hold of what is now agreed might bee prevented, the King having agreed to what is satisfactory for the payment of Publique debts, and damages, which yet may in good measure bee performed to satisfie the Souldiers, Lenders, and Sufferers, and ingage them to the interest of our Peace.

Lastly, when we cast our Eyes upon all parts of the Kingdome, the present scarcity in the Countries, the poverty and disorders in our Cities; or when wee look at Sea, and behold our Navy divided; our Merchants robbed; our Trade decayed, confusion threatning us on every side, These made our bowells yerne within us, and call aloud upon us to improve the season and advantage offered by this Vote.

Before wee conclude this point, wee must give Answer to an objection which they insinuate (to aggravate the passing this Vote, by us in these words, *Viz.*

Although the King had finally denyed such things, from some of which by their Covenant (wherein they had pretended some zeal) and from others by their Publique Faith given, they were obliged not

to recede. By Which this Paper seems to glance at the Proposition for abolishing of Arch Bishops, Bishops, &c. For sail of their Lands, and for settling the Presbyterian Government. We cannot but observe its said *their Covenant* (and not the Covenant) *to which they pretended so much zeal.* Is it not their Covenant who have taken it as well as ours? We say we took the Covenant without any equivocation, or mental reservation; and by Gods assistance have endeavoured and shall endeavour to continue faithful therein, although they seem here to scorn both it and us. If they make this Objection with any sincerity here, what is meant in the third page of their Paper by these words, *viz. Dissent of those whose Principles were more compliant to a closer with the King upon satisfaction in the particular matters especially concerning the Form of Religion and Church Government which they mainly affected.* There they suggest that wee fall in with Malignants to obtain the Church Government, which wee affect, and here they insinuate: that we break the Covenant in not insisting more for it.

But for the Covenant, wee say the Kings Answer takes away Church Government by Arch Bishops, Bishops, &c. by taking away their Courts, and so farre takes away their Power of Ordination that it can never be revived again, but by an Act of Parliament: so that Episcopacy is divested of any actual being by the Law of the Land, and instead thereof the Presbyterian Government is put into possession by a Law for three yeares. And wee say, that the King having granted the rest of the Propositions and so much in this, the Covenant doth not oblige us to make Wrewe upon this point to gaine what wee desired after the three yeares, and shall really and constantly endeavour to obtain in our places and Callings. Nothing could have made the Kingdome more irreconcilable to the Presbyterians then to have made that the sole Obstruction of the Peace.

and state of Warre; and it is evident (except wee should put out the eye of our reason) that besides the hope we might have of His Majesties comming neerer to us in this point, and in the Covenant it selfe, upon our comming neerer to Him in the absolute concluding and declaring of Peace; the Parliament, by what is granted already, is put into a better capacity for settling Presbytery by a perpetuall Law, then (as things now stand) they can reasonably presume of by the continuance of Warre. The power of the sword apparently threatening not only the destruction of this Government of the Church; but the being of the Church (if Almighty God prevent not) by striking at the foundations of our Faith, contemning conscientious Ministers and Ministry it self, taking away their Maintenance; obstructing the Reformation of the Universities, slighting of learning; and professedly promoting a most licentious Toleration for all manner of Errors, Heresies, Schismes and prophaneſs in the Kingdome.

This being our present condition, we hope we shall be sufficiently cleared from the least suspicion of declining in our zeal to the Covenant, which we have taken, in what we have done. For the Publick Faith passed upon the sale of Bishops lands; We say, that though the Purchasers might have afforded to have given the same rates for their purchases, if they might have had them assured to them by Act of Parliament for 99 years, and such moderate Rents reserved, as the King intimated in His Answer: yet, according to His Answer, exprelling further a satisfaction to be given to them; we should not have consented to any such Act of Parliament, for settling the remainder in Him, and ensuring the said Rents, until the Purchasers (who were in possession, and still held by the same Title, under which they bought them) should be satisfied. And in case they should not be so satisfied, we were not by the said Vote concluded from insisting further for a full Confirmation of their purchases, having never actually agreed with the King upon any such Terms; but

preft. it is the laft to get a full confirmation thereof, and only Voted that this was a fufficient ground to proceed further. And now we appeal to the Purchafers themfelves, whether we ought to have made an abfolute breach upon this point, or thereby fhould have performed our Publique Faith to the whole Kingdome and themfelves.

As to what is faid, *that the corrupt majority would not lend an Ear to admit a thought towards the laying down their own power, or rendring it back to the People from whom they received it.* Wee answer, that this is an unreasonable objection, by them who endeavours to perpetuate an Army upon the Kingdome: Nor is the continuance of this Parliament objected at large: but *that we are not willing to render our Power back again to the People, by which means (as their other Papers and actions tell us) a new Representative made by the Army; so that the complaint in effect is, that we are not willing to render the power put into us for the Government of the Kingdome, into the hands of the Army; which, wee confesse, wee think wee ought not to doe.* But as there is little doubt to be made that before an abfolute conclusion of Peace with the King, an Act might have been had for putting a Period in short time to this Parliament: We for our parts, when the Kingdome fhould had been in quiet poffeffion of these Propositions by Acts of Parliament, upon the conclusion and fettlement of Peace; There are no perfons living would be more defirous then our felves to put a Period to our service in Parliament, and leave it to the care of fucceeding Parliaments to preferve what this hath gained to our Poffterity.

Wee fhould have ended this point here, but for one objection more; which is made by their other Papers againft any Agreement with the King, *viz.*

That whatfoever the King grants in this Treaty bee plead force to breake it, and that for any thing can bee discovered, hee is like to ufe his endeavours to fpoile us,

policy of what we have gained by the expence of so much blood. For answer hereunto : We say first, That this objection lies against any agreement with the King, though hee granted all the Honies desired or could desire; and against any agreement betwixt King and people after a Warre made. It can hardly be imagined, after such differences, but that for sometime animosities will remain, and a disposition in those who thinke they have lost any part of their power to regain it) It being naturall to all men in power to increase their power) That this objection lay as strong against all former Treaties with His Majesty for Peace after the Warre began, and against the declared end of the Parliaments Warre, (and of all just Warre) a good Peace with His Majesty.

But more particularly wee say, That the weight of this objection, depends only upon, an uncertain conjecture of what may or may not bee hereafter, and the former experience, which this Kingdome hath had in keeping such Agreements, made in the heat of former differences, strengthened us against the feare of the danger of it. And though sometimes the Kings of this Realme, and particularly this King, have adventured to weaken their owne Grants for a time, yet they have ever beene regained with advantage, obtained and enjoyed in the times of peace.

The usuall means whereby any of the Kings of this Land have made encroachment upon the good Laws granted to the people, and their own agreements, have been either by placing corrupt Judges, or other Ministers in the Courts of Justice. Who, though they could not abrogate the Law, yet they have made it speak against it self, and their good for whom it was made, or else by the power of preferring corrupt Courtiers to honour and profit, to stop the course of Justice by the Councell-Table for a time. Both these meanes are taken away from this King, by what is agreed on in this Treatie.

The first, in the Proposition placing the choice of Officers in the Parliament; whereby as they have the Law they desire, so they have the choice of the Judges and Officers that must administer them.

And the second, in the Proposition barring the King from making any new Lords for the future to Vote in the House of Peeres, without the consent of the Houses. Which are a strong security against a politicke, as the Militia in the Houses is against a forceable breach of this Agreement.

Lastly, we say, That it cannot be expected of any Agreement should be made for peace settled after such a Civil War, without some hazard of violation or interruption. But whether the hazards and dangers be a breach upon such termes as are now in difference betwixt the Houses Propositions and the Kings answer, be not more and greater, and whether (in case endeavours should be used hereafter to violate this agreement) the Parliament might not then with more Justice, and greater advantage draw the Sword, then they can now keepe it unsheathed upon the matter in difference: Wee leave it to all sober minded men to judge. And to what is said, *That they wanted not good intelligence, that had they been suffered to meet all in the House but once more, it was designed to have passed some higher resolutions to lay further foundations of such new quarrell, so as to carry therein the name and countenance of Parliamentary authority together with the Kings, and acceptable pretence of peace, to draw men in, and thus to have adjourned the Parliament for a long time, the exclusion of all remedy in the case but by another Warre.* Wee say the House at the passing Vote upon the Kings Answers immediately appointed a Committee to goe to the Generall, and conferre with him and the Officers of the Army, to keepe a good understanding betwixt the House and the Army. Which shewed the full intent of the House to proceed by all amicable wayes with them, not by force, but by reason. Which they were so far from attending unto, (as in duty and conscience they ought to have done, and to which the Lord Generall promised his readinesse, however it was hindered afterwards.)

That they seized upon one of the Commissioners appointed to Treat with them; affronted another of them, and left no way for any conference, that might have given them the grounds of the Houses proceedings; which gives grounds of suspicion, that they were resolved to do what they had designed, whatsoever the Houses had endeavoured to the contrary.

Thus we have the more largely opened the thoughts of our hearts for their satisfaction (if it be possible) and especially for the satisfaction of those that intrusted us in what we have done upon the result of this Treaty, and in passing that Vote Decemb. 5. *That the Answers of the King to the Propositions of both Houses, are a ground for the House to proceed upon for settlement of the peace of the Kingdome; for which we are charged to betray our Trust; to bee selfe-servers to compleat her in unwicked designs, and the like,*

For betraying our Trust, as our faithfullnesse hath appeared by our services and sufferings; so wee hope it will not be accounted belonging our Trust to endeavour the obtaining of a just peace; and for serving our selves, our owne hearts beare us witness, that wee had not respect in this Vote, on any private byasse towards our selves: so all that know what threatnings were cast into the House, in the Armes Remonstrance and Declarations in the entrance upon this debate, what power of the Army was then in this City, what Language was commonly spoke amongst the Souldiers, what Guards we then had, will judge that we had more cause to be byassed by feare from doing our duties, then at that time to thinke to serve our selves by such a vote as this, to which nothing but the forceable impulse of our consciences for the discharge of our duties could have led us. And we now appeale even to the Consciences of those, even the Army themselves (although Souldiers) whose advantages arise by Warre, are not altogether the most competent Judges of constitutions for peace.) Whether this were to bring in the King upon his owne Terms, or upon the Kingdome's Terms. Whether the six and last particular

of their account, be ground of necessity to warrant their extraordinary course in secluding us from the House; carrying us along the streets of this City by their Souldiers, as if we were their Captive slaves; and to imprison our persons, and reproach our names.

And to what they say in the close, *That these Members, who are yet detained in custody, they are either such who have been formerly impeached, and (in part) judged by the house for Treason, and other crimes, and never acquitted; and against whom, they can, and very shortly shall produce new matter of no less Crime, or else such who have appeared most active and united in Councils with them, against whom also they are preparing, and shall shortly give matter of particular impeachment.* Wee say, as wee doubt not but by what wee have said already, wee yet stand cleare in the judgements of all men that are guided by the Rules of Religion, Lawes, or Reason; so when all, or any of us know what are those *new Crimes*, they say they can charge some of us with; and what those charges are, they say they are preparing for others; and when we know who those some and others are, we doubt not but they will make their innocency and integrity appeare against those Crimes and Charges which they have either in pretence, or in preparation against them.

Lastly, the Army who hath done this against us, and have strengthened their hands to pursue it; say, *'they appeale to God'*. And wee also appeale unto God (who is our strength, and besides him wee have none other to cleare our innocency, and protect us from violence.

If in what we have endeavoured, wee may bee instrumental to the settling of this Kingdom in a safe and well grounded peace (wherein truth and righteousness may flourish) If we may contribute to the saving of *Ireland*; the Union betwixt the kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*; the preservation of the Parliament; the Government, and Lawes of the Land; the true Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of the people; wee have our hearts desire. But, if instead of Union and Peace in the three Kingdomes, the seeds of a long

and more wasting Warre is sowne; if in stead of Re-
 formation of Religion, Popery, Superstition, and Heresie
 break in upon us; and that Government by the sword in
 stead of Law; slavery and tyranny, instead of Liberty, bee
 our portion at the end of six yeares warre, (which we trem-
 ble to thinke of) wee shall humbly submit to the mighty
 hand of God, who in Judgement for our sinnes, and the
 sinnes of the Nation, reacheth out this cup of his sore dis-
 pleasure to us. And in the midst of the greatest troubles,
 have this to comfort us, that we did our endeavours accord-
 ing to the best of our judgments and consciences towards
 the prevention thereof, and for the settling this Kingdome
 in a safe and well grounded Peace.

Thomas Lane, Esq. William Lane, Esq. Sir Samuel Lane, Knight	M ^r Col. John Drake Thomas Drake, Esq. John Drake, Esq.
Sir John Drake, Knight Sir John Drake, Knight Sir John Drake, Knight	Sir John Drake, Knight Sir John Drake, Knight Sir John Drake, Knight
Henry Polman, Esq. William Polman, Esq. William Polman, Esq.	Comm ^{rs} Henry Polman Comm ^{rs} William Polman Comm ^{rs} William Polman
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A List of the Imprisoned and Sedu- ded MEMBERS.

Imprisoned.

M Aj. Gen. Rich. Browne,	Col. Edward Leigh.
Col. John Birch,	Thomas Lane, Esq;
Thomas Boughton, Esq;	William Lewes, Baronet.
John Bulkley, Esq;	Sir Samuel Luke, Knight.
Francis Buller, Esq;	Major Gen. Edward Massey.
Sir Henry Cholmeley,	Sir John Merrick, Knight.
Sir John Clotworthy,	Sir Richard Ansell, Knight.
Commissary Lionel Copley,	Henry Pelham, Esq;
John Crew, Esq;	William Priestly, Esq;
Francis Drake, Esq;	William Pryme, Esq;
Sir Walter Earle, Knight.	Sir Robert Pye, Knight.
Nathaniel Fines, Esq;	Sir Benjamin Ruddyard Knight.
Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Baronet.	Sir Thomas Soame, Knight.
Francis Gerrard, Esq;	Edward Stephens, Esq;
Thomas Gewen, Esq;	Col. William Strode.
Giles Greene, Esq;	John Swinfen Esq;
Sir Harbot. Grimstone, Baronet.	Charles Vaughan, Esq;
Sir Rob. Harley, Kn. of the Bath.	Edward Vaughan, Esq;
Col. Edward Harley,	Sir William Waller, Knight.
Sir Anthony Irby, Knight.	Clement Walker, Esq;
Richard Knibbsley, Esq;	Thomas Viscount Wenman.
Sir Martin Lister, Knight.	William Wheeler Esq;
Major Robert Harley.	

Secluded.

Mr. Peregrine Hobbs,
 Mr. John Holcroft,
 Mr. George Horner,
 Mr. Thomas Hodges,
 Mr. William Jones,
 Col. William Jephson,
 Sir Norton Knathpole,
 Mr. James Cambell,
 Mr. Capell Luckinge,
 Sir Martin Lumley,
 Mr. Cha. Pym,
 Mr. Henry Peck,
 Sir John Pagrove,
 Sir Philip Parker,
 Sir William Playters,
 Mr. John Pelham,
 Sir Thomas Pelham,
 Sir Nevile Pool,
 Mr. Edward Pool,
 Sir Edward Partridge,
 Sir Thomas Parker,
 Mr. Tho. Povy,
 Mr. Henry Oxenden,
 Mr. Arthur Anesco,
 Mr. Arthur Owen,
 Sir Dudley North,
 Sir Robert Needham,
 Mr. John Nash,
 Sir Nicholas Martin,
 Sir Tho. Middleton,
 Mr. Tho. Middleton,
 Sir Oliver Luke,
 Sir William Lotton,
 Mr. Henry Lucas,

Sir William Lister,
 Mr. John Ash,
 Mr. Robert Packer,
 Mr. John Harris,
 Sir John Seimor,
 Mr. Samuel Vassall,
 Sir Robert Napper,
 Sir Roger North,
 Mr. Tho. Grove,
 Mr. John Selman,
 Mr. Herbert Hay,
 Mr. Robert Gennet,
 Sir John Burgen,
 Col. John Barker,
 Mr. John Nelthorpe,
 Mr. William Owfield,
 Mr. William Ellis,
 Mr. Edward Wingate,
 Mr. John Whadden,
 Mr. Thomas Weller,
 Sir Richard Win,
 Mr. Richard Winwood,
 Sir Edward Ashew,
 Sir Ralph Astor,
 Mr. Matthew Allen,
 Mr. John Alford,
 Mr. Michael Bisse,
 Mr. Peter Brooke,
 Col. John Booth,
 Mr. Mor. Barrow,
 Mr. John Buller,
 Sir Ambrose Brown,
 Sir Thomas Trever,
 Mr. Sim. Thelwell,

Secluded.

Mr. Thomas Thinn,
 Sir John Temple,
 Mr. Thomas Temple,
 Mr. John Thomas,
 Mr. Samuel Terrick,
 Sir Humphry Tuston,
 Mr. Edward Thomas,
 Sir. John Corbet,
 Edward Lo. Clinton,
 Sir John Curson,
 Sir Thomas Dacres,
 Col. William Davies,
 Mr. John Dodridge,
 Mr. Thomas Earl,
 Mr. William Edwards,

Mr. Charles Rich,
 Sir William Spring,
 Mr. Simon Snow,
 Mr. Thomas Sands,
 Mr. George Scut,
 William Lord Fitz-William,
 Mr. William Hoxwist,
 Col. John Flair,
 Mr. Richard Gennings,
 Mr. Thomas Gell,
 Mr. Francis Gawday,
 Mr. Samuel Gardiner,
 Mr. Henry Hungerford,
 Mr. Denzill Hollis,
 Sir Francis Hollis,

With sundry others driven away.

Imprimatur, Joh. Langley.

Jan. 20. 1648.

FINIS.

The Hunting of the Foxes

16

FROM

NEW-MARKET and TRIPLOE-Heaths

TO

WHITE-HALL,

By five small Beagles (late of the Armie.)

OR THE

GRANDIE-DECEIVERS Unmaskèd
(that you may know them.)

Directed to all the Free-People of Eng-
land, but in especial, to all that have, and are still
engaged in the Military Service of the
COMMON-WEALTH.

By Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, Simon Graunt, George Jellis, and
William Sawyer, late members of the Army. Who upon
the sixth of March in the New-Pallace-yard, Westminster,
were forced to ride with their faces towards their
Horse-tails, had their swords broken over their heads,
and were cashiered for Petitioning the Parliament
for relief of the oppressed Common-wealth;
and delivering an account thereof to
the Generall.

Printed in a Corner of Freedome, right op-
posite to the Councel of Warre,
Anno Domini, 1649.